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761 Besides, the objects that are placed in the coffin at burial are supposed to be used, not by the
775 corpse, but by the *kaduduwá*, so that the connection between the two
764 continues at least for a certain period after death. Add to this that the *balańóbáń* or revivified *innát* is also definitely known to belong to the dead person as well as his *kaduduwá:* this is proved by the fact that the transformation of the corpse into a *balańóbáń* is supposed to depend on the character of the person, while the latter was still alive, all of which will be explained in due time.

774 Third, the term *kaduduwá* itself. Semantically, and perhaps lin-
197 guistically, the Isneg term *kaduduwá* corresponds to the Iloko term
775 *kararuá*, "soul". Semantically: both terms have probably an identical meaning; anyhow they most certainly refer to one and the same thing: the spirit of man that continues to live after death. Perhaps linguistically: when we compare several Filipino languages with one another, it is clearly seen that *d* and *r* very often interchange; for instance: Ibanag *nararál* and Iloko *nadadáel* (destroyed), Isneg *matúdog* and Iloko *matúrog* (to sleep), Isneg *adú* and Ibanag *arú* (many). *A* and *o* or *u*, when not bearing the accent, are often interchanged, or at least their pronunciation is blurred and they are hardly to be distinguished from one another; for instance: Isneg *mazudódit* and *mazadódit* (to tell a story), *obóbát* and *abóbát* (the ceremony that concludes the period of mourning). And so, linguistically, the distance between Iloko *kararuá* (pronounced *kararuwá*) and Isneg *kaduduwá* does not seem to be very great.

Etymologically, however, Isneg *kaduduwá* and Iloko *kararuá* seem to be entirely different; on the contrary, the Isneg term *kaduduwá* and the Iloko *kaduá* (pronounced *kaduwá*) are one etymologically, although seemingly very different semantically: as *kaduá* in Iloko means "companion", which in Isneg is rendered by *kabbulón*. Both Isneg *kaduduwá* and Iloko *kaduá* are composed of the stem *duwá* (written *duá* in Iloko), "two", partly reduplicated in Isneg, and the prefix *ka*, indicating companionship, concomitance, etc., in both languages.

In view of all this it seems reasonable to infer that the Isneg seem to consider the spirit that continues to live after death, not exactly as a companion (in this case they would call it *kabbulón*), but as a part of something, a counterpart, something that goes with something else (prefix *ka*), and to which, in numbers, it would correspond as number "two (*duwá*)", not in time and successively or consecutively, but concomitantly (on account of the prefix *ka*).

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These three facts combined prove that the Isneg, at least implicitly, consider a living man as consisting of two elements: the *baggí* or body, of which no more mention is made after death, as an *innát* (corpse) takes its place, and the *kaduduwá* or spiritual element that continues to live and is usually invisible.

Through death "a person ceases to exist as an ordinary human being". Indeed, the *kaduduwá*, although its life is similar in many respects to that of a living person on earth, is usually quite invisible and "continues to live indefinitely". I say "indefinitely": why not "eternally"? It must be remembered that the Isneg have no notion of eternity as such; they know that the *kaduduwá* continues to live, they never heard of a *kaduduwá* dying, but if it lives eternally, that goes beyond their comprehension, or, to be exact, they never think as far ahead as that. And so what looks to the Isneg as "indefinite" (living on indefinitely), if considered under our own viewpoint, would probably mean "eternal" (living on eternally). The corpse also is far from existing as an ordinary human being. Not that the Isneg consider it to be completely devoid of any animating principle, but that it is dead for the time being, and if it lives afterwards in the state of a *balańóbáń*, its life cannot be compared with that of an ordinary man.

The *kaduduwá* goes to live "ultimately at least in the realm of the dead". This will be explained more fully when referring to the state of man after death.

"Leaving behind an *innát*". *Innát* is the body of a man immediately after death, as long as it stays in the house, and before burial, if burial takes place. The *innát* is dead, it neither moves nor breathes, it needs neither food nor drink. We shall see presently whether the Isneg believe all dead bodies to remain in that state, in the state of *innát*, until decay sets in.

2. Future Life

What happens after death? And first as to the *kaduduwá*.

The night after a person's death (some say: "at any time after his death"; but this could never mean "immediately after death" on account of the necessity of the *innát* being clothed), *Kútaw*, the ferryman, or rather the ferry spirit, comes along to bring the *kaduduwá* over the great pond (*lablabbáń*) to the realm of the dead. Here, according to some informants, the *kaduduwá* receives hospitality at *Kútaw*'s house until the latter brings it on its way to the house of its relatives who died before.

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764 776 And now the *inndt*? What happens to it after death?

As long as the corpse retains its name of *inndt*, which means, as long as the body is left in the house unburied, it merely remains as it is, inert and lifeless, at least apparently. The only calamity that might befall it, is to be snatched away and devoured by either *Karásaw* or *Wirwér*. Both are spirits with exceedingly long legs: while one of the legs rests on Kabugaw soil, the other one may have found a point of support at the other side of the river, at Alumani, a distance of at least one mile. Others state that *Wirwér* is the only long-legged spirit; according to these informants, *Karásaw* has no body, he has nothing else but two long arms that are completely scorched. When these imps want to feed on an *inndt*, and the latter remains unguarded, they pass the upper part of their body (or the arms only in the case of *Karásaw*, according to some informants) through the opening at one of the gables of the house, and, leaning on the tie-beam, catch the *inndt* and run away with it to devour it at leisure. According to another version, *Karásaw* is the only one who enters by the gable: *Wirwér* uses the door of the house to make his entrance. This has happened in the past *kanó*, say the Isneg. Now the little term *kanó* is a very convenient one for all kinds of incredible statements: it can best be translated by the Latin *dicitur*. *Kanó*, "so it is said", and that settles the matter.

The Isneg would probably find in these former losses of *inndt*, the origin of the custom of watching the dead: indeed they usually state that *Karásaw* and *Wirwér* only steal *inndt* that are not watched. In our viewpoint, the two are rationalizations to explain the old custom of watching the *inndt*. Anyhow both spirits are hated by the Isneg. Just exactly why they consider the theft of an *inndt* by *Karásaw* or *Wirwér* as a calamity, I do not know: indeed a dead body can do the living no good: on the contrary, it very often annoys them, as will be seen in due time, and besides, the custom of the *tarimbáñon*, which will be explained presently, seems to show that there may have been a time when the Isneg tried to get rid of an *inndt* without burying it. Or would the use to which a corpse is put by these *inndt*-eating spirits, entail the vengeance of the *kadudnwá*, who may have nothing against the *tarimbáñon* with consequent failure of burial, but may have retained enough interest in something that was himself or a part of himself in bygone times, not to want it devoured by an uncanny member of the world of spirits? Such is probably the reason; the

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devouring of the corpse by *Karásaw* or by *Wirwér* must bring some punishment to the neglectful relatives, either by the *kaduduwá* or by some spirit; while a corpse left unburied on account of the *tarimbáñon*, remains safe and in no danger of being fed upon by man-eating spirits, it merely loses its identity as an *innát* immediately, without having to be buried in a tomb. We shall meet *Wirwér* again in the description of a dead Isneg's burial.

Another reason for being watchful when an *innát* is present in the house, is explained like this by the Isneg: if at any time all people are asleep in the house, the *innát* or dead body stands up and starts counting the sleepers (*da-dáp*) two by two, and in case there is one left without a companion, which points to an odd number of course, this one left will die very soon. After that the *innát* leaves the house and takes a walk, only to return very soon to its former state and place. The sand that cleaves to the dead body is promptly noticed by the awakened relatives, and it furnishes them with a striking proof of the activities of the *innát* during their sleep.

What is to be understood by the *tarimbáñon?* This is how the Isneg describe it: in olden times, as soon as a person died and his body was laid down at the customary place, with the head near the wall of the house, before it was even washed or clothed, one of the inmates of the house (usually the husband or wife of the deceased) took hold of an *allú* or pestle (used to pound rice in a mortar), and with it rammed with all his might either the wall of the house or the floor from beneath, near the head of the deceased. At this juncture the *innát* invariably disappeared and left no traces behind. This was done, according to my informants, in order to get rid of the corpse without the necessity of burying it, and formerly it was a general custom. When I asked if a woman would *manarimbáñon* as well as a man, they answered me: "Yes, provided she dare do it"; but at the same time they insisted that in bygone times no corpses were buried, and that all *innát* were disposed of by the *tarimbáñon* in order to avoid the trouble attendant upon the burial of a dead person. The whole custom looks exceedingly strange, and many things about it cannot be explained satisfactorily, at least in the light of actual Isneg belief. What about the care taken by our people with reference to the clothing of the dead, the difficulties encountered by a *kaduduwá* whose *innát* has not been attired in new clothes, the thousand and one ceremonies that are scrupulously performed before and at the time of burial, etc.? Indeed the *tarimbáñon* is said to take place even

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764 before the corpse is washed, and with the definite purpose of forestalling the trouble of burying it. None of my Isneg informants,
775 however, could give me any further explanation, neither were they able to tell me, of course, how a dead body could disappear at once without more ado. The only statements they uttered were such as these: "This was the custom in olden times . . . . , formerly no *inudt* was ever buried . . . . , the *tarimbáñon* was once a universal custom . . . . , long ago all Isneg *nanarimbáñon* . . . . ", and so on. Or is the whole *tarimbáñon* affair a myth pure and simple without any foundation in fact? Maybe, but my informants certainly did not entertain any such ideas: they were firmly convinced of the reality of such happenings in bygone times, although they were completely unable to explain away any of the contradictions involved. Have their mortuary beliefs and customs changed in the course of time? Or does the *tarimbáñon* replace all other ceremonies and force *Kútaw* to bring the *kaduduwá* over the *lablabbáñ* without further requirements? I do not know, neither do the Isneg seem to know.

194 Once buried a dead body loses its name *inudt* and may eventually
775 become a *balañóbáñ* (sometimes pronounced *bañálóbáñ; balañóbañ*, in Iloko, means "wanderer, vagabond", and is applied to ordinary human beings who are still alive), "ghost, phantom", a term which is almost always confined to wandering ghosts. The fact of becoming or not becoming a *balañóbáñ* after burial depends on the character of the deceased. If he is a good and virtuous person, he will be ashamed (say the Isneg) to wander about and annoy the neighbors in the shape of a *balañóbáñ;* or if some such person should become a wandering *balañóbáñ*, he will either go far away from the place of his tomb in order to startle unknown (and consequently unbeloved) people, or stay in the immediate neighborhood of the place of his death, but without bringing vexation to anybody around: all this because he is good and would feel ashamed to do otherwise. All other corpses, and these seem to form a considerable majority, become wandering *balañóbáñ*, and annoy the neighbors, except of course when they are kept from doing so by magical or other practices on the part of the living. If these practices, which keep a *balañóbáñ* at bay, are powerful enough, nothing is to be feared; but if they are ineffective, or if magic which causes a *balañóbáñ* to leave its grave and vex the neighbors is more powerful, then woe to your chickens. Indeed a *balañóbáñ*, after two or three nights in the grave, may not

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find its abode to its taste, and may creep out stealthily, shake off with both hands the earth that clung to it while winding its way out, and roam around at night feeding on chickens and charcoal (*bergáń*). That it feeds on chickens proves that the *balańóbáń* is really alive; that it feeds on charcoal shows that its life is not that of an ordinary human being.

These *balańóbáń* are also supposed to be very fond of annoying the women who go to work in the field: which seems but natural, as the women are usually much more afraid of ghosts than the men, and consequently will imagine much more easily that they have to do with a phantom, whenever they see something more or less out of the ordinary. Nevertheless, all Isneg, whether men or women, believe in *balańóbáń*, and I rarely met a man who did not positively assure me that he had seen one. Crossroads (*sisiníyán*) seem also to be a favorite haunt of these *balańóbáń:* the Isneg state that a *sisiníyán* is the usual place where they can be encountered, so that anybody who is anxious to meet a ghost, should lie in wait at a *sisiníyán*, and he will rarely be disappointed.

In some places, in order to prevent a dead body from leaving its tomb, the Isneg sometimes put a heavy stone (only one) upon the lid of the coffin, inside the grave; in others stones were placed on top of the tomb, after it has been filled up: but I doubt very much if the latter practice is resorted to by the Isneg with the purpose of keeping the buried corpse at bay. The description of tombs and of all purely magical practices which are of use in Apayaw, either to cause a dead body to leave its tomb and annoy the neighbors, or to prevent it from doing so, will find its place further on.

What does a *balańóbáń* look like? All Isneg agree that it has the shape of a man and that it is full of worms, but beyond this nothing definite can be gathered from native informants. When you ask people who live in more civilized areas and pretend to have seen ghosts, what the latter look like, you may get as many answers as there are informants, the one answer as vague as the other. The Isneg, like some weak-minded and credulous people among our own, see a ghost, especially at night, in every gnarled branch of a tree, in every disfigured shape, which they cannot clearly distinguish. The generality of the Isneg, if not all of them, will assure you most positively that they have seen real ghosts, and indeed they see ghosts at night in everything whose shape does not seem to correspond to something known to them, whether it be earth or stone, plant or animal,

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but they have never yet been able to see a ghost without some vagueness surrounding it. It should be noted in this connection that a *balańóbáń* has nocturnal habits.

But what is the ultimate fate of a *balańóbáń*? To this question the Isneg can give a definite answer: all *balańóbáń* decay in the end at *Magkíbińán*. *Magkíbińán* is the name of a cave, the usual dwelling place of all *balańóbáń*, and there their wandering life comes to an end sooner or later. Nobody can tell you anything definite, however, about the location of this cave or about the duration of a dead body's life as a *balańóbáń*.

All Isneg are convinced that tombs of wandering *balańóbáń* are empty and remain so. Once out of its tomb, no *balańóbáń* ever comes back to its former abode. And only the very few stay in their tomb; the generality of them start on their temporary wanderings as soon as they have been in the grave for two or three nights, long enough to dislike such a residence. Occasionally a few informants even state that no dead bodies ever decay in their graves. Nobody of course would venture to dig in a tomb in order to convince himself of the truth of his belief.

3. *Causes of Death*

What causes death? The Isneg seem to distinguish between two kinds of death, namely: what we would call "death by accident or death by violence", and "death from sickness". Under the Isneg viewpoint, however, the first kind of death has what I should like to call a "natural" cause, while the other kind has a "supernatural" cause.

Under the first head come all deaths whose cause is obvious and patent to everybody:

1. Death through murder or assassination (felonious homicide),—for instance, you plant a headax in the neck of your enemy and cut off his head. The Isneg, no more than anybody else, will doubt about the cause of your enemy's death. Here there is no necessity of suspecting the intervention of the spirits.

2. Death by accident or through judicial taking of life,—for instance, a man falls from a tree and breaks his neck, death ensuing, or a culprit is executed by the authorities, and so on. Here also the spirits are not considered as the immediate cause of death. To die like that is called *merónud* (past tense: *neránud*), while to die in general is called *natáy* (past tense: *natáy*). The stem *rónud*, in

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764 When the first outburst of lamentations, in the case of our dead
292 Isneg, has come to an end, the bystanders at once proceed to the preparation of the *innát* or corpse. The latter is first stripped of its old clothes, and carefully washed and cleaned; after that it is wiped dry and finally dressed up in the best clothes available. Some natives do not even shrink from clothing the corpse in silk, if their means allow such luxury; at any rate, it would be utterly shameful to the Isneg not to dress a dead body decently. This latter performance is called *magpaar-armát* (transitive: *paarmattán;* from the stem *armát*, "garments"). As has been stated before, each garment is partially torn (*maxáyxáy*) at one side.

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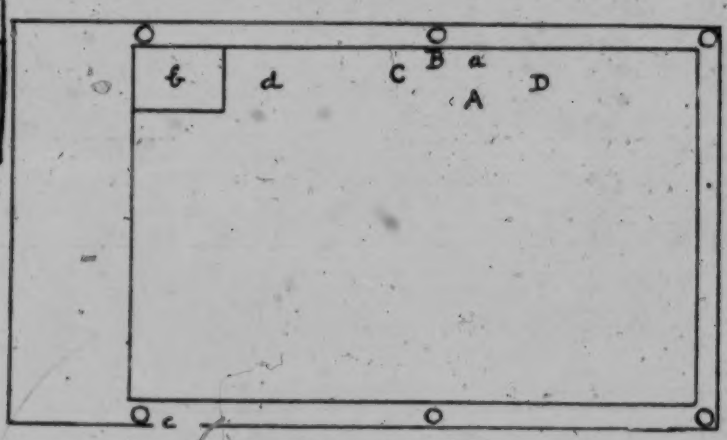

FIG. 3. FLOOR OF AN ISNEG HOUSE

A, Place of bier; a, place of the head of the *innát*; B, place of the *innát* in sitting posture; C, place of the *aróboń;* D, place of mourning relatives; b, hearth; c, door; d, place of woman in childbed.

764 In some places they insert a few *libnó* herbs in the clothes of the
775 *innát* for the following reason: on its way to the realm of the dead, the *kaduduwá* is supposed to pass through a camote or sweet-potato
772 field, in which there is a hut inhabited by an old woman, who is intent on taking away from all passers-by their provisions and all their belongings; but if the latter have *libnó*-herbs about their person, the old woman is powerless and they pass along unscathed.

764 In the meanwhile some others have been preparing the *tádag* or bier. The *tádag* consists of a certain number of entire bamboos, tied

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together side by side in three places, at both ends and in the middle; it corresponds exactly to an ordinary raft or *zákit*, except of course that it is much shorter. 764

The *tádag* is then laid down near the middle post of one of the longer sides of the house, namely the one opposite to the door (fig. 3), and the body is stretched out upon it at full length, with its head near the wall, arms crossed over the chest, hands flat and fingers extended. In this position the *inndt* has the place of the hearth to one side, but it is comparatively far away from it, as between this and the *tádag* is a certain space, that is usually reserved for women after childbirth; the middle post just referred to is kept immediately at the side of the head of the deceased, between the latter and the hearth. The *inndt*'s pillow consists of the garments of which the deceased has just been stripped, jacket and G-string or tapis, etc.; they are rolled up into a bundle and placed under the head of the dead person. The latter's eyes have been closed; but the mouth may remain open: the lower jaw is never bound up.

After this a few pinnae of a young coconut leaf (*palátaŕ*) are twisted and formed into a kind of crown, which is placed over the head of the deceased. This crown, which the Isneg call *sinazíkaw*, is never absent. Then the whole body is covered with a fine new blanket, which leaves only the crowned head visible. [824] [292]

If the deceased is a married man, his surviving wife cuts off her tresses at the height of the shoulders (*maggaňád*), and these are tied to the head of the *inndt* and arranged in such a way as to form one with his own hair. [302]

It should be noted once for all that all ceremonies and observances connected with death and burial are the same for men and women, for adults and children, for shamans and ordinary mortals, except for an occasional detail that will be recorded at the proper place. 766

In some special cases the *inndt* is kept in a sitting or squatting posture, this time immediately in front of the central post and facing the door. It is kept sitting on a small bench, with head and waist tied to the post just referred to, and hands resting on the thighs; there is no question of course of any *tádag* or bier.

At other places, as at Bayag, some corpses are kept squatting in a jar, always at the customary place. A large *zúsi* jar (earthenware imported from China), a *tadózăs* in the case of an adult, a *dordorí* in the case of a child, both very precious to the Isneg, is cut into two almost equal parts, and the body is placed in a squatting position

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766 inside its lower half, a certain amount of clothes being pushed between the sides of the jar and the *innát* in order to keep the latter straight and to prevent it from falling forwards or backwards and from leaning to either side.

But these are exceptional cases and happen only to the very rich (Musimut, Nagbabalayan, etc.) or to persons that stand very high in the estimation of their people (Lettuakan, Bayag, etc.). At Musimut and so on, very rich people may be kept two days like that before they are finally interred. At Lettuakan, a few years ago, *Antón*, who does not seem to have been either rich or influential, was kept in a sitting posture for three days. At Bayag also, three days usually elapse before the jar is buried with its contents. I believe, however, that formerly such bodies would have been kept from burial for a much longer time. This opinion is based, not only on analogy with similar customs that obtain among other tribes, but also on information received in Apayaw with reference to the time that elapses between death and burial, all of which will be mentioned later on.

•764 171 Among the Isneg there is no question of preservation of the body either by mummification or by the use of any other means. Abandonment of the coffined body under some large rock in the neighborhood of the settlement, which obtains among the Kankanay and the Bontok Igorot, burial in elaborate monuments, as is customary among the rich Kalinga, cremation, etc., are all unknown in Apayaw. The body is simply interred, as will be explained presently.

764 After the death of a person, one of his relatives (all of whom are called *matâyán*) goes to announce (*magbo-ba-ada*) the sad news to the absent members of his kindred. As long as the body remains unburied, friends and neighbors come and go, men and women showing in their own way their participation in the sorrow of the bereaved relatives. Women who go to the house of the deceased usually take along with them some *anúlut* (a kind of herb) as a precaution, lest the *balañóbáñ* of the person they go to mourn for be following them in the future. The *bási* that is abundantly distributed on such occasions, proves a very strong attraction to some of the men, and, in case the deceased was a man of means, the pigs that are slaughtered are also a powerful incentive and inevitably induce our Isneg to flock to the house of the dead (*makixánat* or *meparinnatáy*) and participate in the ceremonies connected with mourning. No real sacrifices (*pildáp*, etc.), however, are offered, and no *mazzaito* is per-

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formed by any of the shamans. Indeed, why should the spirits be enticed to obsess the shaman at a time when everybody is bent on keeping them at a distance? Besides, the souls of the dead should be left where they are as long as the *inndt* is in the house, probably lest the *kodudawd* of the deceased be interfered with on its trip to the other world.

Women mourn and lament in a loud voice almost uninterruptedly, usually two or three at a time: when one group is tired, another one takes its place. Men rarely imitate them in this, especially after the first general outburst of grief, that takes place immediately after death is over, but they *magbibisndg* (slap one another's thighs: the game previously described, CAC–P, 3: 123-26). According to the Isneg, playing *bisndg* is a man's way of showing his grief: a certain chastisement of the body is undoubtedly involved in the whole performance, and just as the near relatives sometimes cut themselves at the death of one of their loved ones in order to show the intensity of their sorrow, so also the men, relatives, neighbors and friends, slap one another's thighs, often until blood spurts out, in order to prove to the whole assembly that they also take part and are far from remaining insensible in the presence of death. That a certain amount of voluntary infliction of pain is at the root of this question, is corroborated by the fact that some women occasionally take part in the *bisndg*, the more so that no member of the weaker sex ever plays the rôle of agent (*maúnd*), but merely receives the slaps (*magídn*) without rendering them. Expressions like the following may be heard frequently among the Isneg: "*Urdy magdáxa ya apíko ta zakkánnamagsáuit* (even though my thighs bleed, as I do not weep)". In both cases, namely in that of men and in that of women, the *bisndg* is resorted to more especially by those who do little or no weeping; people, whether men or women, who do a good deal of lamenting, rarely take part in *bisndg*.

It goes without saying that the spirits are wide awake at the death of an Isneg, and that the survivors are annoyed with their unwelcome presence at every turn. Among others the following deserve special mention:

Dupáppá-, whose tastes are very peculiar; indeed, he it is who absorbs the decayed matter (*saxó*) that flows from the nose and mouth of the deceased.

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776 764 *Ruádd:* a spirit who invariably approaches the house at the death of one of its inmates. He looks like a big tree, and at his arrival the whole house shakes.

Xówat: a kind of giant who is to be seen roaming around, either at the house of a dead person, or along some road leading to it.

Tuktukkól: a whole swarm of spirits who come to mourn and weep at the house of a dead person, especially if the latter is a child.

[851 753] The Isneg strictly forbid all children to play noisily anywhere in the settlement where an *inndt* is awaiting burial; if any youngster should disobey this injunction, he would invariably become afflicted with *boókól* (worms).

765 A person who arrives from some other agglomeration bringing in a new jar at the time a corpse is present in one of the houses, may be sure not to be able to enjoy the use of his jar for a long time: the latter is *ma-dammán*.

764 As has been stated previously, the body has to be watched night and day. At night, when most of the mourners are sleeping, from one to three persons must always remain awake, and when the latter feel very sleepy, others must take their place, lest the punishment which has already been referred to be meted out to one of their number.

In case the deceased is a married man, the widow (*bálo*) has to stay near the corpse of her husband, as soon as the body has been dressed and placed in the required position, and she has to remain there until one night after burial. For this purpose a diminutive tent (*aróbón*) is put up near the head of the dead person, on the other side of the post, toward the hearth (fig. 3). This *aróbón* usually consists of a couple of boards for the sides and a blanket for the cover, the whole outfit leaning against the wall of the house. Only men take part in fixing the *aróbón*. The widow has to stay inside all the time, she remains invisible, and she neither weeps nor laments, at least not in a loud voice: if she does so, her sobs should remain inaudible or almost so. There she partakes of the food that is pushed in by her relatives, and there she sleeps. Since the *aróbón* is comparatively small, it is quite impossible for her ever to stretch her legs. If she has to go out for some urgent reason, a board is taken out of the wall, which is not at all difficult in Isneg houses, and a ladder is placed against it. As soon as the woman leaves the house through this improvised door, she has to wrap herself up completely in another blanket, and to reenter as soon as possible. In some places she

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is not even allowed to do that, but she has to satisfy the calls of nature inside, using some receptacle given her for the purpose.

In some places the widower (*bálo*) does the same at the death of his wife, and lives in an *aróbóń* for the time being: such is the custom at Dangla, at Bolo, etc. At Bayag, it would be considered indecorous for a widower to imitate the women in this respect: there only the latter are bound to take up their temporary residence in an *aróbóń*.

If the widow (or widower, where the same custom is observed by both men and women alike) is unwilling to live in an *aróbóń*, she merely wraps herself up in a blanket, passing it over her head. This is called *maxubčban*, and the woman remains in the usual place near the corpse until one night after burial. Sometimes it may happen that widows or widowers refuse to submit to this ordeal, but they will in all cases be severely berated by the other relatives of the deceased. It should, however, be noted that, if they had little regard for the dead person during his lifetime, this ceremony may be dispensed with, without anybody taking much notice of the whole affair.

If the deceased was held in high esteem by his people, the other relatives remain at the other side of the corpse from the *aróbóń* for the whole period that elapses between the dressing of the body and its burial, but they are not confined in an *aróbóń*, and they are free to leave whenever necessary.

At Abbil (municipal district of Namaltugan) a widower usually goes to the river accompanied by one of his male relatives, on the morning of the day that follows the death of his wife. Once there his companion bores a small hole in the ground very near the water, and as soon as the hole is filled with water, the widower dips the little finger of his right hand into it. From this time on until the *obóbāt* ceremony (end of the mourning period), he is not allowed to take a bath. This ceremony, however, which is called *mamáwa*, is only performed by brave men, as a spirit is supposed to pursue the widower after he has dipped his finger into the water.

2. *Burial*

The coffin (*lońón*) is almost always made of ordinary boards, roughly hewn by means of a headax. Its size depends on the length of the body to be buried, and the boards are flat and oblong, except the two small ones at both ends, which are square or almost so; there are at least five of them, and in case the coffin has a lid, six. If the body was kept in a sitting posture after death, the coffin is much

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764 shorter of course, but it is also much deeper. The case of the jar coffin in use at Bayag has already been mentioned. At Bayag also, where timber is becoming relatively scarce, the coffin may be made of bamboo, and in some cases, pebbles from the river take the place of a regular coffin. These pebbles are arranged in such a way as to cover the body on all sides inside the grave, each board of a regular wooden coffin being replaced by a certain quantity of more or less flat pebbles placed side by side, horizontally for the bottom and the lid, if the last is desired, and upright for the other four.

766 In the morning before burial, or a little later in the day in case of small children who are buried the night after their death, the body is placed in the coffin, in the same place and position which it occupied until then. The *tádag* or bier is simply removed and placed upright somewhere against the wall or thrown under the house. If the body was kept in a sitting posture after death, the coffin is placed

766 upright and the body is kept sitting. Occasionally, however, such a body may be laid down on its back and coffined as if it had been lying stretched out in its full length: this is what happened to Anton of Lettuakan, whose case has been mentioned before. In no case is a lid placed over the coffin inside the house. Even after the body has been placed in the coffin, the women's lamentations and the men's *bisnág* suffer no interruption: everything goes on as usual until the

766 funeral takes place. At Bayag the body remains as it is until burial;
184 it is coffined only when interred, which is obviously a necessity in the case of a coffin of pebbles, as the latter are always arranged inside the grave.

764 The period of time that elapses between death and burial is not the same everywhere and for everybody, neither has it always been the
766 same. In the past, when the Isneg were still their own masters, the *innát* of an adult was never buried before the fifth day after death; sometimes it took even six days before the body was considered sufficiently decomposed to allow of its interment. Actually strangers who know nothing about Isneg law or are bent on disregarding it, keep strict vigilance, and the length of the period has been greatly reduced. Consequently even the Isneg have accepted as the usual number of nights that should elapse between death and burial (which formerly was always performed at night) of an adult, three (Abbil, etc.) or from three to four (Musimut, Bolo, etc.), the night of burial included. But even this reduced number of nights, already accepted by Isneg custom, is not tolerated by the authorities, and

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whenever possible the dead body of an adult is forcibly confined to the grave after one or two nights (night of burial always included). Occasionally in some out-of-the-way places, the Isneg may stick to their old custom or at least to the modified one, but this becomes rarer and rarer every day. Children are usually interred after one or two nights according to age and size (Abbil, Musimut, Bolo, etc.), so that in many cases a child who dies in the morning is buried in the evening of the same day.

And now we come to the digging of the grave. The grave consists of a hole in the ground, large enough to contain the coffined body, but usually not as deep as is actually required by law (1½ meters). This is always begun by a woman (*mañusím*) who may be a shamaness or not. This operation, however, is rather ceremonial than practical, as immediately afterwards men do the real work. If jars have to be buried together with the coffined body, a special round hole is dug near the ordinary grave, in such a way as to have the buried jars situated at the right of the dead man's body, near the place of his head if the body is lying down. When digging a hole in the ground, the Isneg use the *sáwit* or blunt point at the back of a headax, or any other instrument, to loosen the earth, and an old basket or a coconut shell (in the case of digging a grave, usually the former), to extract the loose earth and throw it out. For the rest, no definite orientation of grave or body is required, and anybody is allowed to dig the grave, as well as to carry the body and to cover it with earth: there are no persons specifically designated for these purposes. In no case are children allowed to stay near a tomb in which a body has been buried recently (*lábŭg*).

Among the Kankanay, young men vie with each other to carry the body of a rich person to its last resting place, as they believe that, if the matter which exudes from the decomposed body (*deń* in Kankanay, pronounced like English "dung") trickles upon their own, they also will be blessed by this world's goods. No such belief exists among the Isneg.

Formerly the grave was always dug under the house, and if the gravediggers happened to open a *lúbo-*, a grave already occupied, the lately deceased person was simply interred over the remains of the one in possession. This particular selection of the site for a grave gave rise, as was told me by the natives themselves, to the custom of the Isneg, which obtains to this day, of definitively stopping their work at a new house, and of going to choose some other place for the erec-

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764 tion of the same, whenever a *labág* bird passes under (*magsilpút*)
178 the building; indeed, they believe that, if they continued to build
787 the house on that particular spot, one or more of the inmates would certainly die.

764 Nowadays the authorities insist on burial in common graveyards,
177 set aside for the purpose and situated outside and away from the settlement. Although this ordinance is still occasionally evaded, it becomes harder and harder to do so, on account of the presence of sanitary inspectors in every municipal district; and so the Isneg have gradually accommodated themselves to circumstances, as will be explained more fully when treating of the decoration of the tomb.

764 At the time set for the funeral, in the evening, the coffin (or lower part of a jar) containing its precious burden, is carried to the grave (*itamán;* sometimes pronounced *itanám;* in Iloko: *itaném*). If the body has to be coffined at the grave, it is carried on the *tádag* or bier. Actually, when the body is interred in the graveyard, the funeral takes place in the daytime, and any time of the day will do.

Before and after the body is laid or set to rest, a good many rites and ceremonies take place, and these I shall try to describe with as much order and accuracy as possible.

The position of the body in the tomb is the same as that of the *innát* in the house, at the time it was coffined: if the latter was stretched out at full length or otherwise laid on its back, the body in the grave will rest supine; if the *innát* was kept in a sitting or squatting posture, the corpse will be placed that way in the grave, its head remaining uppermost.

And now as to the *tanád* or objects that are interred together with the body, and which are believed to be used by the *kaduduwá* of the deceased in the realm of the dead. Some of them are always present, others only occasionally.

The following objects are never lacking:

A *tariyáw* (a piece of earthenware, plate or cup), containing a certain amount of cooked rice;

Some viands usually wrapped up in one or more leaves;

A receptacle (any kind) containing some water;

A bundles of clothes;

An *aliwá* or headax, in the case of a man; an *ikó* knife, in the case of a woman;

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Some tobacco, or some of the ingredients used in the chewing of betel nut (betel nut, leaves of the betel pepper, and lime), according to the former habits of the deceased. 764

To these may be added:

A bottle of *básІ;*

One or more spears;

One or more shields;

Some coins;

Some favorite musical instrument of the deceased; etc.

One of the following objects is also usually present, and, in the case of a rich man, all of them:

A *saxabán* (string of beads worn around the head);

A string of beads (worn around the neck);

A *xúsi* jar containing some *básІ* (in which case there is no bottle of *básІ*).

Everything is placed inside the coffin, the *xúsi* excepted, which is buried in the hole especially dug for it. 764

These objects, even though some of them are very precious in the eyes of the Isneg, are never interfered with; they always remain where they are. The desecration of a grave by robbers or other malefactors is something unknown in Apáyaw. 769 685

Sometimes it happens that an ill-intentioned person (never one of the relatives), probably moved by a desire for revenge, when unobserved, stealthily places some herbs in the coffin, alongside the body. He does this with the purpose of forcing the body to leave its abode at night in the shape of a *balańóbáń*, and to roam around playing havoc among the chickens of the neighbors. 764 754 775

Before the body is placed in the grave, the bottom of the latter is strewn with ashes, obtained by burning an *anańá*, which is a kind of raincoat made of palm leaves. This ceremony is supposed to serve a double purpose: the raincoat will render good service to the deceased in the other world, and the ashes will prevent the dead body, either from leaving its grave in the shape of a *balańóbáń* or ghost, or at least from frightening the neighbors.

Lest the *balańóbáń* scare the relatives of the deceased or the women of the neighborhood who daily repair to their work, the Isneg usually put some *takkág* vines inside the coffin, alongside the body. The *takkág* is a schizaeaceous fern (Lygodium sp.), which differs from 764 824

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764 824 the *lito* (also Lygodium sp.) used for the manufacture of basketry, in the smaller size of its leaves and the brittleness of its rachis.

764 [824] After all these rites have been duly observed, the body is lowered into its final abode. In order to do this, the Isneg tie the coffin with strips of *báno-* (core of the rattan), which are rather brittle and never used when something has to be tied in a durable way. It now depends on the wishes of the nearest surviving relative, the husband or wife, the father or mother, a child, as the case may be, whether a lid has to be placed over the coffin or the body has to be left uncovered and the lid dispensed with. In case the body was kept squatting in the lower half of a jar, the other half is now placed over it, and the opening on top is closed with a plate (earthenware imported from China).

Then the grave is filled up with the earth that was taken out by the gravediggers, and the old basket that was used to extract the loose earth at the time of digging is placed on top. No mound is erected over the grave; the ground above is simply kept level with the surrounding ground.

Here follows the description of what is placed on and over the tomb: a few things immediately after the funeral, others either at the same time or the next day, according to the wishes of the people in charge or to the presence or absence of the materials in question at the time of burial.

There are placed on the grave immediately after the funeral:

[824] Several pinnae of a young coconut leaf, sometimes twisted into different fantastic shapes, roughly imitating those of birds, dogs, stars, balls, etc.; also some stumps of cigars, partly burned: all these to keep away *Bowá* (by some called *Alibowá*), a spirit who feeds on dead bodies;

In some places a spear is stuck in the tomb: this is done in order to prevent the spirit *Wiriwér* from stealing and devouring the body;

[824 823] Then ingredients for chewing betel nut, namely: one or more betel nuts or some sections of a betel nut, leaves of the betel pepper, some lime. The lime is placed there more especially with the purpose of preventing the body from leaving its grave in the shape of a *balaŋóbāŋ;* in this way the lime supplements the magic power of the *takkág* and of the ashes of the burned raincoat, both of them mentioned before.

Further adornment, put in place either immediately after the funeral or, more commonly, the next day:

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If buried under the house, a number of flat pebbles from the river are arranged all around the grave in such a way as to form the figure of a rectangle; the pebbles are stuck in the ground half-way and are placed erect, but lengthwise, so that the part that protrudes is about one half of the breadth of the pebble, not one half of its greatest length.

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If the body is buried in a common graveyard, a small shed is erected over the tomb. This shed consists of four low posts, which support a sheet of bamboo roofing, more or less slanting to one side. Sometimes, although rarely, the shed is much more elaborate, and, besides four or six posts, there are present two or four tiebeams that connect the posts, and a regular gable roof covered with grass or bamboo; the walls and gables are open to all winds, however, and there is a floor. Once erected, these contrivances are usually left untouched until they fall in and their materials decay. In all probability, this counterpart of a hut is intended to replace the house that in former times always shielded a tomb from the inclemencies of the weather.

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In Bayag, upon the grave of *Butít*, under a shed of the most elaborate type just described, the survivors had placed immediately over the place of the body, and seemingly covering it from head to foot, a contrivance of sticks and laths, which was an almost exact replica of the coffin-shaped device used in Catholic churches at services at which the body is absent. All around this wooden frame, several jars could be found, scattered at random, some of which were standing erect, at the time of my visit, others lying down, a few entire, others partially deteriorated. This is most certainly quite exceptional in Apayaw, as I never saw anything similar in any other graveyard.

3. After Burial till End of Mourning

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When the funeral is over, the participants retire to a place a little distant from the house of the deceased, and from there the male relatives pelt the house with stones (*bumaláw*). This is done in order to drive away the spirits (*Bowá, Wirwér*, etc.) who might be lying in wait at the grave to rob it of its prey. This rite is not dispensed with even though the person be interred in a common graveyard and far away from the house, although in this case it seems to have lost all meaning; but the Isneg stick to their traditions. I confidently expect, however, that very soon they will find another reason for their action, and the throwing of stones will be explained as intended to drive away from the house either all spirits in general,

Do not jump over a child. If you do, his growth will be retarded. 784

At first glance one might think that life in Apayao is greatly restricted by the necessity of placating all the *anitos* and of observing the many auguries, omens, and prohibitions. But, after being around some, I cannot help getting the impression somehow, that all this is partly just the men's sly way to getting out of a lot of hard work and disagreeable duties. At least, the placating of the *anitos* gives them the occasion for many very pleasant social times. 771 784 787 789 781

BURIAL

When death comes, the Apayaos, unlike the Christians, do not dread it as being the end of life on this earth; for the spirit *caludorosa*, continues to exist somewhere and enjoy many of their physical pleasures without the discomforts. The people respect these spirits and go to great pains to see that they are made happy, both during the funeral ceremony and also during the following years. At all the feasts a portion of the best food and *basi* is placed on a plate, which is then set near the stove where the immediate supply of rice is kept. The people want to keep the spirits of their ancestors happy and contented for, if one should become discontented, he will select a person in the house to keep him company. The person then becomes sick and will die if a feast is not held to make that spirt happy and contented again. 761 775 769 [753]

When a person dies, all the relatives immediately gather in his house and hold a *callas* in his memory. 764

764 A fence is constructed around the house, and all neighbors are strictly prohibited, *canao*, from entering [822] it or even from coming around the place. The rela- [262] tives dress in white as a sign of mourning and drink *basi;* but they do not eat rice nor meat; only plain food, such as camotes and bananas. There is no music, dancing, or singing; only mourning in order that the spirit of the dead may be happy in the knowledge that they miss him.

The corpse is bathed, dressed, and laid out on a mat, length-wise with the house. Then the nearest relative (husband or wife), with hair cut short and dressed in white, must lie down by the side of the corpse just as if it were still alive, and remain there without food and without moving for two or three days, all during the *callas*. After a while it becomes torture for the person to stay still; but when he does move without permission, the relatives of the dead are there to punish him and force him to pay them indemnity.

764 While this is going on, all the relatives are eat- 533 ing, drinking and mourning. This mourning is not so much the grief of parting, but rather as entertainment for the dead. There are certain specified shouts and talking back and forth, using certain old cadences: sometimes expressing pity or carrying on vigorous debates which almost seem quarrelsome. As the *callas* continues, it all makes quite a noise.

764 In the meantime, the corpse has begun to smell and putrify. A relative takes some of the fluid beginning to come out of the mouth, ears, and eyes of the decaying body and rubs it as an ointment all over

the body of the wife or husband as he lies beside the corpse. Then the relatives vie with each other in geting the fluid and rubbing it over their bodies. This will influence the dead to request for them from the ancestral spirits, longer lives and healthier bodies.

When the time for burial arrives, the corpse, dressed in its best clothes, is laid in a wooden coffin. With it may be placed food, *buyo*, and weapons for the use of spirit of the dead. As the coffin is carried along to the place of burial, grains of rice may be scattered along the way. The coffin is usually placed in an excavation about five feet deep either under the house or under the granary. With the corpse are buried baskets and other articles, depending on the wealth of the family. A small shelter is built over the grave if it is not otherwise shaded: for the dead must be protected from the heat. Then the burial service, pronounced in the ancient cadence, is said.

Some people bury their dead under huge rocks or in caves. After a time, when only the bones remain, they are collected, placed in a small box, and put in the granary.

Following the burial, the relatives, if they are wealthy, return to the house and continue the merry-making. They may also play games. One game, *biznag*, is a contest in which the boys take turns slapping each other's bare thighs with their hands. The loser is the one who cannot stand the pain any more and gives up.

On the third night after burial the spirit of the dead comes out of the grave and wanders around. It is sometimes seen. The bereaved husband or wife

Bowa has always been getting dead human beings from graves for his food. 776

WIR-WER TAKES A MATE

The *anito* Wir-wer goes everywhere spending his time looking for the dead. Wir-wer lives on dead bodies which he digs out of the ground, excavating the graves of dead people. Limbobia is his wife. If there is a dead person, the priests call this *anito*, placating him so that he will not eat the corpse. [764]

A long time ago in Maragat all the children were on the ground after supper playing hide and seek in the dark. One small girl was playing, holding a firebrand. Wir-wer swooped down, grabbed her, and took her into the air. The girl cried, "Mother! Help!!" Wir-wer went through the air very fast to his house in the air. The mother, almost crazy, followed below just as fast. Wir-wer's house was a big cave full of valuable properties taken from graves of dead persons. It was in the forest, in Mount Anag. The mother was there when Wir-wer said: "You must give me beads". "Why do you want my daughter", she scolded. "To stay in my house," Wirwer replied. It was arranged that Wirwer should give her many beads for her daughter. She returned home loaded with so many beads that she could hardly carry them. He also gave her the seedings of the rice called *dumalay;* which most of the people now raise. It ordinarily takes about three days for a person to go from home of Wirwer to Maragat; but the woman made it in only a few hours. 583 776